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FOR DR. Z. BRZEZINSKI ONLY

FOL RPT LONDON 3329 ACTION SECSTATE 26 FEB 77 QUOTE

S E C R E T LONDON 3329

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DEPARTMENT FOR THE SECRETARY, HABIB AND HARTMAN

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PFOR, OVIP (CLIFFORD, CLARK M.)
SUBJECT: CLIFFORD MISSION: REPORT ON CYPRUS VISIT

1. SECRETARY CLIFFORD REQUESTS THAT THE FOLLOWING
REPORT BE PRESENTED TO THE PRESIDENT.

2. BEGIN TEXT. THIS CONSTITUTES THE REPORT OF
CLARK M. CLIFFORD TO THE PRESIDENT WITH RESPECT TO THE
CYPRUS PORTION OF HIS MISSION TO THE EASTERN MEDITER-
RANEAN. THE CLIFFORD MISSION MET ON FEBRUARY 23, 24
AND 25 WITH THE LEADING OFFICIALS OF THE CYPRIOT

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GOVERNMENT, INCLUDING PRESIDENT MAKARIOS, THE FOREIGN
MINISTER, THE LEADER OF THE OPPOSITION PARTY,
MR. CLERIDES, THE GREEK CYPRIOT NEGOTIATORS IN THE
CYPRUS TALKS AND OTHER OFFICIALS. THE MISSION ALSO
VISITED TURKISH CYPRIOT LEADER, MR. DENKTASH, THE TURKISH
CYPRIOT NEGOTIATOR AND MOST OF THE MEMBERS OF THE
TURKISH CYPRIOT LEADERSHIP. MR. CLIFFORD'S TWO PRIVATE

MEETINGS WITH ARCHBISHOP MAKARIOS WERE EXTREMELY PRODUCTIVE, LEADING TO A CONCRETE RESPONSE. THE ARCHBISHOP AGREED, AFTER A LONG AND FRANK DISCUSSION, TO ACCEPT THE PRINCIPLE OF BIZONALITY AND TO PRESENT A BIZONAL MAP WITH A 20 PERCENT TURKISH ZONE AT VIENNA TO SERVE AS THE BASIS FOR NEGOTIATION OF THE TERRITORIAL ISSUE.

3. BASIC MESSAGE: OUR APPROACH TO PRESIDENT MAKARIOS AND TO ALL OF THE GREEK CYPRIOTS WAS THAT WE BROUGHT A MESSAGE OF FRIENDSHIP AND CONCERN FROM OUR NEW PRESIDENT. WE ALLUDED TO THE ADMINISTRATION'S DEEP HUMANITARIAN CONCERN AND ITS DESIRE TO ASSIST IN A JUST RESOLUTION OF THE CYPRUS PROBLEM. WE INDICATED TO PRESIDENT MAKARIOS AND THE FOREIGN MINISTER THAT THIS WAS THE BEST POSSIBLE TIME TO REACH A SETTLEMENT BECAUSE UNITED STATES AND WORLD OPINION WAS PRESENTLY SYMPATHETIC TO THE PROBLEM OF CYPRUS. HOWEVER, WE STATED QUITE FRANKLY THAT THIS SYMPATHETIC ATTITUDE WOULD CHANGE IF THE CYPRIOTS DID NOT MAKE PROGRESS IN THEIR DISCUSSIONS. WE NOTED THAT THE US-TURKISH RIFT OVER CYPRUS HAD IMPAIRED OUR DEFENSE RELATIONSHIPS AND THAT A TIME WOULD COME WHEN WE WOULD HAVE TO REMEDY THAT SITUATION. WE IMPLIED THAT IF THE NEGOTIATIONS WERE PROLONGED, ESPECIALLY BY UNREALISTIC GREEK CYPRIOT DEMANDS, OUR SYMPATHY MIGHT DISSIPATE.

4. CYPRIOT RESPONSE: ARCHBISHOP MAKARIOS UNDERSTOOD OUR MESSAGE. WE BELIEVE HE HAS DECIDED TO MAKE A REAL
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ATTEMPT TO REACH A SOLUTION THIS YEAR. HIS AGREEMENT TO TABLE A BOZONAL MAP, REFERRED TO ABOVE, IS AN IMPORTANT STEP. YOU WILL REMEMBER THAT THE TURKS IN ANKARA SUGGESTED THAT WE TRY TO GET ARCHBISHOP MAKARIOS TO TABLE SUCH A PROPOSAL, AND THAT WE HAD EXPRESSED OUR PESSIMISM ABOUT GETTING HIM TO DO SO. THE GREEK CYPRIOTS ALSO AGREE WITH OUR SUGGESTION THAT THE FORTHCOMING VIENNA NEGOTIATIONS BE SUSTAINED AND SERIOUS. THEY INDICATED THEIR INTEREST IN FINDING A PROCEDURAL APPROACH THAT WOULD BE MUTUALLY SATISFACTORY AND WOULD PERMIT SUBSTANTIVE DISCUSSION.

5. DISCUSSIONS WITH THE TURKISH CYPRIOTS: THE TURKISH CYPRIOTS, WERE UNHAPPY ABOUT US INVOLVEMENT. MR. DENKASH EXPLAINED AT GREAT LENGTH THE HISTORY OF TURKISH GRIEVANCES AT THE HANDS OF THE GREEK MAJORITY BETWEEN 1960 AND 1974. HE EXPRESSED HIS BELIEF THAT A SOLUTION COULD BE REACHED IF THE UNITED STATES AND THE EUROPEAN NATIONS LEFT THE TURKISH CYPRIOTS (AND THE MAINLAND

TURKS) ALONE TO DEAL WITH THE GREEK CYPRIOTS. WESTERN INTERVENTION, HE ARGUED, IS ALWAYS MANIPULATED BY MAKARIOS. HOWEVER, DENKTASH DID CLEARLY STATE THAT HIS NEGOTIATORS WOULD PRESENT A WRITTEN MEMORANDUM ABOUT THE ALLOCATION OF AUTHORITY BETWEEN THE CENTRAL GOVERNMENT AND THE TWO BIZONAL STATES AT THE MARCH 31 VIENNA MEETINGS, AND THAT THEY WOULD NEGOTIATE IN GOOD FAITH.

WE BELIEVE THAT MR. DENKTASH'S NEGATIVE ATTITUDE IS PRIMARILY A RESULT OF HIS AGGRAVATION OVER BEING PRESSED FROM ANKARA. HIS ASSOCIATES WERE CONSIDERABLY MORE FORTHCOMING AND POSITIVELY INCLINED THAN MR. KENKTASH HIMSELF.

6. VISITS TO REFUGEE CAMPS: ON BOTH THE GREEK SIDE AND THE TURKISH SIDE OUR MISSION VISITED REFUGEE AREAS AS WELL AS NEW HOUSING PROJECTS BUILT WITH US ASSISTANCE.

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WE HEARD TESTIMONIALS FROM BOTH GREEKS AND TURKS TO THE TRAGIC CIRCUMSTANCES OF MEN STILL MISSING AND UNACCOUNTED FOR, AND WE RECEIVED DELEGATIONS OF HOMELESS PEOPLE. WE ALSO RECEIVED MANY WORDS OF PRAISE FOR THE CONSIDERABLE REFUGEE ASSISTANCE THAT WE HAVE PROVIDED.

7. LONDON CONSULTATIONS: WE TRAVEL NOW TO LONDON TO CONSULT WITH THE BRITISH. I SHOULD NOTE THAT BOTH TURKISH AND CYPRIOT OFFICIALS HAVE REQUESTED THAT WE NOT DRAW THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY (OR THE BRITISH) INTO THE NEGOTIATIONS BECAUSE BOTH SIDES FEEL SUCH A STEP WOULD R VERGWSXOVGJICATE#THESE SENSITIVE NEGOTIATIONS. WE THEREFORE DO NOT INTEND AT THIS STAGE TO DISCLOSE THE SPECIFIC PROPOSALS THAT EACH SIDE WILL MAKE.

8. IN SUMMARY, EXCEPT FOR MR. KENKTASH'S UNHAPPINESS AT BEING PUSHED INTO A CONSTRUCTIVE STEP BY ANKARA, WE BELIEVE OUR MISSION TO CYPRUS TO HAVE BEEN SUCCESSFUL BEYOND OUR EXPECTATIONS. AS YOU CAN UNDERSTAND, THE LEADERS OF BOTH SIDES, FOR DOMESTIC POLITICAL REASONS, HAVE REQUESTED THE HIGHEST LEVEL OF CONFIDENTIALITY TO THESE COMMITMENTS, AND WE GAVE ASSURANCES THAT THESE REQUESTS WOULD BE HONORED.

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